

Mr. Swaran Singh's Statement—a Naked Betrayal and Shock to Indian People

"The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, to-day unambiguously spelt out India's position vis-a-vis the Bangladesh issue. In a speech to the A. I. C. C. (R), he said India would accept any political settlement which was acceptable to the elected representatives of Bangladesh.

Such a political settlement could take three forms. It could be **within the frame-work of Pakistan** or within the frame-work of an independent Bangladesh or one which assured Bangladesh greater regional autonomy. *** Mr. Swaran Singh said a political settlement acceptable to the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh was the only way in which the deteriorating trends in that region could be stopped and conditions created for the return of refugees" (Statesman, dt. 9. 10. 71)

Thus it is clear that the Government of India is contemplating a political settlement of Bangladesh issue even within the frame-work of Pakistan provided it is acceptable to the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh. At a time when the freedom fighters of Bangladesh are resolutely struggling against the Pakistan military rulers for achieving complete national independence and undergoing tremendous sufferings and laying down their lives in hundreds of thousands for this cherished goal, and under the present circumstances when the struggle is no longer at the stage of greater autonomy, such volteface of the Government of India, inspite of its earlier constant clamouring for the independent Bangladesh is not only a betrayal to the cause of independent Bangladesh but a definite blow to the wishes and aspirations of the Indian people also, who are strongly supporting the independence struggle of Bangladesh and exercising constantly strong pressure on The Government of India for the immediate recognition of independent Bangladesh Government and also for providing active all out help including military assistance to the freedom fighters there. Such a reversal of the policy

of the Government of India, inspite of its expressed support to the freedom struggle of Bangladesh in the face of mounting pressure of Indian people and repeated assurance that the recognition to the Sovereign Republic of Bangladesh will be given at an opportune moment, cannot but create profound shock and deep consternation of the Indian people.

In the background of Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation concluded sometime ago, this shift in the policy of India Government, which is virtually a let-down of the cause of the freedom struggle of Bangladesh has assumed great significance to the Indian people. Whereas the people had an expectation that by virtue of this treaty not only the aggressive war-like attitude of Pakistan Military Regime towards India would be effectively checked but also the freedom struggle of Bangladesh would be given a fillip to proceed towards its final victory, such an open advocacy for political settlement within the framework of Pakistan is a marked shift from its earlier position. Such a marked shift in the policy can justifiably be viewed as an outcome of Soviet influence on India Government inasmuch as

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W. Bengal People Observed Bundh on 13th. Oct

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the S. U. C. I., in course of a statement congratulating the people of West Bengal for the successful observance of Bangla Bandh, said "that the most unprecedented way the people have responded to the Bandh call inspite of threat, intimidation and attacks by the official and non-official quarters clearly shows that the people of West

Bengal thoroughly disapprove the fascist measures of the Government against State and Central Government employees.

"Com. Mukherjee called upon all left and democratic parties and forces to close up their ranks and come forward, forshaking petty party sectarianism and bossism to build up a broad-based united struggle which alone can resist the growing fascist onslaughts of the reactionary forces."

Hungry Peasants' Meeting in Orissa

(By a staff reporter)

On 2nd October last, under the auspices of Khet Mazdoor Federation, D. S. O and local committee of the S.U.C.I. a big meeting of hungry peasants and other sections of the working people was held in East Jajpur (Sridharpur) Orissa. The meeting was presided over by Com. Mayadhar Nayak, a leading organiser of D. S. O. in Orissa.

Com. Chakradhar Rath, a veteran peasant leader was the main speaker. Com. Rath dealt in detail the problems of the peasantry of the country and through analysis showed that the existing capitalist rule stood behind all the problems

confronting the Indian society. Others who spoke were Com. Udhav Kumar Jena, Com. Anant Ch. Majhee, and Com. P. K. Sinha.

Some resolutions on peasants' problem were also passed in the meeting.

Working Committee Meeting of UTUC(Lenin Sarani)

The All India Working Committee of U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani) held a meeting in Calcutta on 25th September last. Com. Shibdas Ghose, the beloved leader and teacher of the S.U.C.I. and the President of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) presided over the meeting.

The meeting held discussions on the question of recognition of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) by the Central Government and also on some

organisational issues. A resolution demanding immediate reinstatement of victimised W. B. Govt. employees was unanimously adopted.

Role of China on Bangla Desh Issue

[On 24th April last, on the occasion of Party Foundation Day, Com. Shibdas Ghose, the General Secretary of the SUCI and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the day delivered a speech wherein he made some observations on the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh. The speech of Com. Ghose has been published in previous issues of Proletarian Era. On 11th July last, at a convention organised by Democratic Youth Organisation, held at University Institute Hall, Calcutta, Com. Ghose, in his speech touched upon the role of China on Bangla Desh issue. In line with the observation of Com. Ghose about the role of China, an English rendering of his speech has been made which is printed below :— Ed. P.E.]

I feel it necessary to have some discussion about the role of China on Bangla Desh issue, since not only a section of the people but also such parties which call themselves Marxist-Leninist suffer from various types of confusion in this regard, thanks to the service of the bourgeois press of our country. On the one hand, just as the well known anti-Chinese and reactionary forces of our country are spreading various slanders about the role of Chinese Government on Bangla Desh question centring round China's friendly relation with Pakistan, so also on the other hand, some so-called Naxalite 'revolutionaries' of our country in view of China's friendly relation with Pakistan and her (China's) continued silence till now about Bangla Desh are opposing the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh and characterising the entire freedom struggle there as nothing but an evil design of the imperialists and the India Government.

I think that such a behaviour of China is mainly due to the policy which is conducive to the growth of revolutionary movement for utilising the internal contradiction within the world imperialist-capitalist camp and weakening the imperialist camp ultimately. Many people may think that this policy of China is stemming from a narrow nationalistic interest. Be that what it may, I do not want

now to enter into any controversy as to how one understands this policy of China. Only this much I would like to say that it is just because of successful diplomatic effort of China over a long period that the USA could by no means commit Pakistan to Vietnam despite the fact that Pakistan is a member of SEATO and almost totally dependent on USA economically and militarily. The successful diplomatic effort of China has dragged Pakistan to the opposite end. However big reactionary the present military ruling clique of Pakistan may be, China at present, does not want to destroy her friendly relation with Pakistan by any means in order to correctly handle the contradiction within the imperialist camp and to keep Pakistan aloof of U.S.A's influence as far as possible. From this it cannot be concluded that just because China has to maintain this relationship, it does not support the national liberation struggle in Bangla Desh and will not do so in future if necessary.

I am placing before you in brief what I have understood about China not openly extending its support to Bangla Desh freedom struggle. China is observing that since from the very inception, the leadership of the struggle rested with Awami League and moderates like Mujibur Rahman, no preparation could be made for

organising the masses for an armed struggle from the very beginning and developing armed resistance in an extensive way. As a result the entire freedom movement under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman is essentially in the agitational form still now. The possibility of the emergence of an all-out effective armed struggle or armed resistance and a national liberation army from within is still very remote. Moreover, the geographical and logistic advantages are not such that China by way of direct help can effectively contribute in any way towards the building up of an armed struggle and national liberation army within Bangla Desh. So, China is viewing that to extend open support to the freedom struggle **right at this stage** will objectively boil down to mere verbal sympathy and it will have no effective value other than what signifies through moral support for the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh. On the contrary this may possibly lead to some adverse reactions. (1) If China provides open support to the freedom struggle **at this stage** then the support which is rendered to the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman and Awami League at the official and non-official level of the various capitalist countries including the USA and Britain, the support of the Soviet Union existing now and the zealous and enthusiastic assistance of the India Government for the freedom struggle are likely to be diminished to a great extent. (2) Besides, on the plea of China's involvement in Bangla Desh issue, the U.S.A may directly interfere in Bangla Desh, as in the case of Vietnam, in favour of Pakistan. (3) China knows it very well that if it advocates open support to the freedom struggle, Pakistan will not yield to it. Besides, it will only create some hindrance in the process of creating pressure on Pakistan by various capitalist countries at present and also will unnecessarily put

some diplomatic obstruction even if there is a possibility of achieving independence of Bangla Desh through moderates like Mujib by way of political settlement under the mediation of countries like the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union. So China is probably thinking that so long the objective condition for protracted armed struggle within Bangla Desh is not being created, it will simply do more harm than good **at this moment** if it expresses anything openly in favour of freedom struggle of Bangla Desh. (4) On the other hand, Pakistan which has ably been kept out of imperialist camp, at least to a certain extent owing to the successful diplomatic effort of China over a long period, will again be pushed totally into the lap of the imperialists.

Considering all these aspects, China perhaps thinks it proper not to say anything explicitly right now in support of Bangla Desh. So in view of China not making any public statement at present in favour of Bangla Desh freedom struggle, it will be unjustified to think just now that China does not support the liberation struggle or that the struggle is being opposed by her.

Taking advantage of such a meaningful silence of China in regard to Bangla Desh freedom struggle and her friendly relationship with Pakistan, the anti-Chinese reactionary forces of our country, being backed by the India Government were carrying out a slanderous campaign against China within this country. China in protest against it sent a Protest Note to the Government of India a few days back. If the language of the Protest Note is carefully examined, then some indications about China's attitude, in spite of her present silence about Bangladesh freedom struggle can be found in it. In a portion of the Protest Note China has said that "India is slandering against us that we are supporting the Pakistan

Despite assurance to Yahya, China not opposed to Bangla Desh freedom struggle, comments bourgeois Press

regime against the freedom fighters of East Pakistan." The use of the word "freedom fighter" in this Note is quite significant. This cannot be overlooked by any careful reader.

The professional diplomats of various capitalist countries and the bourgeois Press have correctly understood that not to extend open support at this moment to Bangla Desh freedom struggle and to carry on efforts to maintain friendly relationship through various means with Pakistan do not in any way mean opposition to the liberation struggle. Since they have realised this, they are manifesting excessive zeal in the matter of Bangla Desh and are leaving no stone unturned to reach a settlement in this regard as quickly as possible. For they know that if the freedom movement is conducted in the way of protracted armed struggle, then in the near future, moderate leadership will be ousted from the freedom struggle leading to the emergence of revolutionary leadership and the struggle will ultimately come under the influence of China. And it is this realisation which has caused so much worries to them. Otherwise, it is quite well known to all that the present day imperialist capitalist powers are opposing the liberation struggles everywhere. That the different capitalist countries are extending support to the Bangla Desh freedom fighters and making a frantic bid for a settlement in this regard can have only one objective—and that is, they also view that since the struggle for complete independence has been launched once, on the basis of Bangla Desh nationalism, it cannot be suppressed in the long run in the present age. They have understood this from their bitter experiences in the past. They also feel that so long the present leadership of the struggle remains in the hands of the moderates like Mujibur Rahman and Awami League,

if the freedom struggle can be brought to an end through transference of power by political settlement, then even after achieving independence of Bangladesh it will be possible to maintain relations with her in the interest of imperialist capitalist countries and also to establish link between Bangla Desh and Pakistan to a certain extent. So it is seen that it is only this misgiving that the entire freedom movement itself may ultimately come under the influence of China which is primarily working behind all these so-called sincere efforts from their end. I am placing before you some facts and portions of comments published in foreign newspapers which corroborate that it is only this thinking which functions behind all the activities and propaganda of different capitalist countries and the bourgeois Press of the world. I hope you will surely understand from these how they view the role of China in this regard.

The "Guardian", representing the interest of British imperialism, has advised the Pakistan ruling circle that even though if they are able to suppress the present uprising, still then they must not forget that this struggle will appear again and again. So it will be prudent on their part to accede to the demand for independence when there is still time for it. That is, it means to say that in the mean period before China can increase her influence it is necessary to politically settle with the elected representatives of the Awami League. Their attitude almost construes like this that Pakistan, out of foolishness alone has created the present situation. If the six-point demands of Mujibur was accepted at the very outset then this situation would not have cropped up. But when such a situation has been created once, then there is no other way to retrace from it. Now if Pakistan still remains obdurate then not only the demand for freedom will have

to be conceded but also there will remain absolutely no connection between Pakistan and Bangla Desh. It might turn into another Vietnam and the entire Bangla Desh will slip into Chinese influence. So no capitalist country including the USA can welcome this eventuality.

These bourgeois newspapers, out of their own interests have attempted to properly assess the role of China in this regard. The "Guardian", the faithful representative of British imperialism has further said in advice to Pakistan that they are claiming that China is their friend. But if tomorrow Pakistan Generals are surprised to find that the freedom fighters are using Chinese automatic rifles and begin to think how the freedom fighters could acquire these Chinese automatic rifles despite China being a friend of Pakistan, then there can be no other alternative but to address them as "idiot Generals."

A Paris newspaper also, almost similarly, has tried to convince Pakistan that she thinks that China is her friend and China will stand by the side of her against the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh. It seems that the Pakistan rulers have not at all understood the Chinese politics. This newspaper has jokingly said at one place that when China is assuring Pakistan on the question of Bangla Desh that "Don't worry, I am behind you and if any body poses any threat I will see to it"—if the rulers of Pakistan put faith in these words then their position also will be almost like that of the patient told in the tale. Thus they have referred to the story which is about a patient actually suffering from heart trouble. The patient went to a doctor for his treatment. The doctor assured him by saying that "Don't worry—I shall cure your liver." This Paris newspaper has tried to caution the

Pakistan rulers that the assurances given to them by China on Bangla Desh issue are almost identical with those of the doctor mentioned above.

A foreign correspondent has written a feature in the "Statesman" entitled "Chinese Riddle" very recently. There also he tried to convince the same thing in different ways. Being a bourgeois journalist himself, he also could not believe that the present role of China in regard to Bangla Desh issue, inspite of so many assurances to Yahya, is meant to oppose the liberation struggle in any way. On the contrary it was his belief that if the independence movement there took the shape of a protracted armed struggle, then it was China which would render the utmost help to Bangla Desh. That is why that gentleman has advised Pakistan to be cautious when there is still time for it.

The Sarbodaya leader, Mr. Jayprakash Narain also, apprehending Chinese presence behind Bangla Desh freedom struggle has tried to make it clear to the statesmen of different countries of the world that if there is no quick settlement on the Bangladesh question by exerting pressure on Pakistan, then the entire Bangla Desh itself will possibly go into the hands of China in near future.

So it is seen that starting from the British, French and American journals and newspapers to the Soviet Union, all these quarters are trying to convince Pakistan about the same thing. Everybody is apprehending whether the entire freedom movement itself will pass on to the influence of China in the long run. Despite all these it is most astonishing that the so-called 'revolutionaries' and Marxist-Leninists of our country have failed to grasp this thing. The India Government also which resorts to many progressive vocabularies now-a-days and is pouring out showers of words in support of Bangla Desh freedom fighters has

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Mass Campaign Against Pornography—Open Tirade in Bourgeois Press Against it

For some time past the Democratic Youth Organisation (D. Y. O.) had been organising a campaign against publication and sale of obscene books, films and other materials with a view to put a check on the rapid moral degradation of the youths, manifested now in our society. In pursing such a programme of action, D.Y.O. observed the 20th September last as 'anti-obscenity day' and staged a big demonstration before the offices of the 'Statesman' and 'Ananda Bazar Patrika' in protest against display of obscene advertisements through these newspapers.

The demonstration afterwards went to several book stalls in Esplanade area and raised certain slogans in support of their demand for banning exhibition of any obscene material. While the demonstration was peacefully passing through the S. N. Banerji Road, nearby the Chowringhee crossing, a group of anti-socials engaged by the dealers of obscene books swooped on the demonstrators and attacked with lethal weapons, causing severe injury to many of the demonstrators. The C.R.P. and the Police which were standing nearby, not only did not take any action against these criminal gangsters but also opened fire in the air, threw

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teargas shells and assaulted the demonstrators without any least provocation. The police also arrested Com. Swapan Chatterji, Com. Ranjit Sanyal and Com. Bhaskar Gupta of whom Com. Bhaskar Gupta had to be sent to the hospital for sustaining severe injury. This incident has caused severe public indignation against the Police and the C.R.P. which not only failed to take appropriate action against the sale of obscene materials but also acted in collusion with the gangsters and dealers of pornography to attack the peaceful demonstrators who were campaigning for putting a stop to this debasing current in the social life.

Not unexpectedly, the 'Statesman' and the 'Ananda

Bazar Patrika', the faithful representatives of the ruling bourgeoisie, have not missed the opportunity to pour venom on the sponsors of this movement and decry the cause most nakedly and unashamedly. While the 'Statesman' in its editorial dated 22nd September '71, has decried 'direct action'—meaning thereby, any organised form of movement to resist this evil corroding the social fabric and even termed it as a 'public menace', the 'Ananda Bazar Patrika' in its editorial on the same date went a step further and advocated queer logic in favour of obscenity in these words:—"If there is obscenity in life, it will also appear in art and literature even in the necessity of purification of life." It seems that the editorial writer is not only ignorant of the real meaning of an work of art and confuses realism, which is expressed through the finest, the most precise and artistic expression of the real life—with photographic reflection of life, a vulgar distortion of realism, but also has the cheek to prescribe sermons to those who are striving to resist the inroad of vulgar degraded culture in our life, in order to uphold the higher values of art and literature, by saying that it only signifies the most shameless arrogance that the sponsors of this movement are "giving verdict on culture". What can be more ridiculous and shameful than this?

Such vitriolic blusters against the sponsors of the

progressive cultural movement of our society by the bourgeois press unmistakably show that the ruling bourgeoisie of our country cannot remain only satisfied by exploiting the toiling masses economically, politically and socially but try to suppress the people in the cultural sphere also. The bourgeoisie know it very well that to foil the progressive democratic movement and the revolutionary struggle of the people against the exploiting class, it is not enough to take resort to brutal suppression alone. This is why attempts are being made by the ruling circle to uphold and patronise the most vulgar cultural trend in order to shatter even the existing moral and ethical values in our society which can inspire the broad masses to build up progressive movements and to orientate the youths and the intellectuals, now devoid of any clear ideology before them, in a desired direction. The so-called votaries of "freedom and democracy", who so often hurl abuses against communist system by saying that the freedom of an artist or a writer does not exist there as there is regimentation in thinking and the world of art and literature cannot flourish without any restraint, have themselves reduced art, literature and the entire cultural life as such into such a degraded state. On the one hand they stifle any attempt for the progressive cultural movement of our society and on the other spread and patronise the vulgar trend in taste, mentality and culture to prevail over the youths and the intellectual life of our society. All these they are so doing with the sole motive to prolong their exploiting class rule as long as possible.

While the bourgeoisie have unleashed their attack on the toiling people on all fronts, including the cultural front, the left political parties of our country and specially the big left, have failed to develop mighty movements to resist all these offensives.

Not only they have been unable to expose the motive of the ruling class which has engineered this degraded cultural trend but to a very great extent have themselves become victim of it. More, it is found, as the strength of the big left parties is growing day by day and their influence over the youths and the intellectuals is increasing more and more, such a trend of bad taste, degraded morality and culture, instead of being reversed, is growing steadily. It seems that they are quite ignorant that if the progressive democratic movement is to be accentuated and attain higher and higher level, then a relentless struggle against all influences of bourgeois culture weakening the progressive movement and for constant uplift of the cultural level of the people is to be carried out. So it is hightime that all the progressive forces of our country should immediately come forward with bold initiative to build up mighty united struggle in all fronts against the attack of the bourgeoisie on the toiling masses.

Com. Robin Mandal Released on Bail

(By a Staff Reporter)

Com. Robin Mandal, a member of the Secretariat of 24-Parganas District (South) Committee of the S. U. C. I. and a prominent peasant leader who was arrested on 17th November '70, has been released on bail on 2nd October last. Com. Mandal who returned as M.L.A. from Patharpratima constituency in 1967 and 1969 elections in West Bengal had to fight for re-election, in the last mid-term poll held in the State, from the same constituency, while remaining in jail custody. Com. Mandal not only had regained his seat but also secured a big margin of more than 15000 votes over his nearest rival.

Congress(R)'s move for Diffusion of Press Ownership

In the winter session of the Parliament the Government intends to introduce a bill for diffusion of ownership of newspapers and news agencies. The Government on its part is apparently claiming that if the bill is enacted, it will curb the total control of the monopoly capitalists over the press and make it more responsive to the popular aspirations of the Indian people.

Apparently with this aim in view the bill contains certain provisions for the diffusion of ownership of newspapers and news agencies. One such proposal is that all newspapers having a circulation of more than 50,000 must be owned not by an individual but by a public limited company and no individual alone can hold more than 5 percent of the shares. The voting of the share holder is also restricted to one half percent of the total share holding. Moreover the Board of Directors will have to include 25 percent of members each from among the journalists and non-journalist employees of the concerned company. The Government will also appoint a trustee on the Board. The trusts, co-operatives etc. are exempted from the purview of the bill. The organs of the political parties recognised by the Election Commissioner are also exempted.

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It is undoubtedly true that the big industrial houses of our country have been in overall control of the newspapers and news agencies. During the post independence period the grip of the press barons on the newspapers is getting firmer and firmer with the active support of the Government. Whereas in 1952 big industrial houses controlled 50 percent of the total circulation, they now control about 70 percent of the total circulation. In the metropolitan centres seven newspaper groups control 80 percent of the total circulation. Indian Express Group controls one sixth of the total circulation in India. This has been possible because of the direct patronage of the Government through allocation of news-

print quota, insertion of advertisements and other overt and covert means.

Though it is true that the people generally want an end to this state of affairs, yet it is not understood how this objective of the diffusion of ownership can be attained through such legislation alone. It was seen in the past how the big landholders concealed their real landholding through *benami* transfers, though a ceiling was fixed in the legislation. Similarly the press barons will simply transfer the excess shares to their chosen persons. Whether any individual person is an owner or the ownership lies in the hand of a public limited company does not make any appreciable difference as the individual owner can easily manipulate and retain his sole proprietorship even by showing the concerns as public limited company, keeping intact all his interests. Regarding the 25 percent representation each of the journalists and non-journalist employees in the Board of Directors, it can be said that the press barons can easily induce their men in the Board, thus making no material difference through this constitution of the Board of Directors. Moreover it is to be remembered that through organisational changes in the ownership the role of capital remains intact.

Thus it is obvious that the objectives cannot be realised through the transformation of ownership into a public limited company. As a matter of fact it is an attempt on the part of the Congress(R) Government to display its socialist gimmick by usurping the sentiments of the common people and at the same time laying the foundation of fascism through such social

democratic programmes. Like nationalisation of banks, the Congress (R)-led Government at the Centre really aims at serving the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism through such transformation of ownership of newspapers and news agencies into public limited company.

So long the capitalist class is in the saddle, this class must have overall control of the productive forces and in order to protect its exploiting class rule, it is obvious that this capitalist class will tighten the grip over the mass media. As a spokesman of monopoly capitalism in India, the Congress(R) will only try to serve the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism. Hence it is unthinkable that the monopoly control over the newspapers and news agencies will be done away with by such a simple stroke by the Congress (R)-led Government. Congress Government on many previous occasions expressed its desire for building up a socialistic pattern of society and with this aim in view successive five year plans were drawn up and executed. At that time also the Congress Government promised to control monopoly capitalism and with a view to achieve this the idea of mixed economy was floated and executed under the leadership of no less a person than Pandit Nehru, the architect of Congress brand of socialism, through the beaten track of which Sm. Gandhi is at present walking. The results of the execution of successive five year plans need no elaboration to prove that these plans are essentially meant to serve the monopoly capitalist class under the garb of Congress brand of socialism. Similarly through this legislation the Government is attempting to impose more and more State control over the press. Being confronted with the acute crisis in capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie on one hand is ruthlessly crushing the progressive and democratic movements, depending more and more on bureaucracy

and militarism, and curtailing the democratic rights of the people through various black acts and on the other, they are attempting for regimentation in the thought process of the people through various means, so that, no progressive and democratic movement can grow within the country. On the plea of bringing reforms in education the bourgeoisie have not only curtailed the scope of education but is bringing about regimentation in it also. Similarly press which is a powerful medium for the creation of public opinion is also being surreptitiously brought under the State Control for regimentation of the thought process of the people. These are the clear symptoms of fascism.

But curiously the big left parties like the C. P. I. and the C. P. I. (M) are extending full support to the social democratic measures of Indira Congress without any reservations and hailing these as 'progressive' measures. The revisionist Dangeites, however, are finding 'progressiveness' in every act of the Congress (R) and as such it is no wonder that they will extend full support to this bill also. But the fire-eating revolutionary Party like the C. P. M. is also falling in line with the revisionist Dangeites, the difference in vocabulary notwithstanding.

These social democratic measures, like the conversion of individual ownership into Public Limited Company or nationalisation etc. help the monopoly to grow and it is even admitted by the the Monopoly Commission set up by the Government itself. Engels as far back as 1878 wrote in his *Anti-During* that—"The transformation, either into joint stock companies and trusts or into state ownership does not do away with the capitalist nature of the productive forces. In the joint stock companies and trusts this is obvious and the modern state again, is only the organisation that bourgeois society takes on in order to

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Resist Fascistic Attacks on Government Employees

(By a Staff Reporter)

On 13th September last, the Governor of West Bengal had dismissed 13 State Government employees of West Bengal in exercise of the power vested in article 311 (2) of the Indian Constitution, at the instance of the Congress (R)-controlled Central Government. Subsequently on 5th October last the Union Government dismissed 32 Central Government employees of defence factories and establishments located at Ichapore, Cossipore and Dum Dum. In both these cases, the dismissed Central and State staff had been denied the opportunity of self-defence. A fundamental democratic right of the people has thus been attacked by the Centre.

As a result of the calculated move of the Congress (R)-controlled Central Government to mount attack on the State and Central Government employees in West Bengal, by taking away their fundamental rights to organise movements on legitimate issues and weakening their organisations, more than 87 Government employees of the State are now suffering in various ways by way of suspension, dismissal, detention without trial etc. after the imposition of President's rule in the State. Many of the Government employees have been cruelly beaten or even murdered by the police or by anti-socials against whom the police have taken no action.

All these events clearly show that these mounting assaults on the democratic right of the Government employees should be resisted unitedly by all means and to achieve this end, an united movement embracing all sections of employees organised under different bodies should be built up. There cannot be any two opinion that without uniting the Government employees and bringing the different associations of employees under United Council of Action to provide joint leadership to the united struggle, the struggle cannot be mightily developed for resisting the increasing offensive launched by the Government. With this aim in view Com. Fatick Ghosh, the Secretary, U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) and the Jt. Convenor of

the Central Trade Union Co-ordination Committee (composed of almost all the Central Trade Unions except CITU) appealed through a letter dated 22nd September '71, addressed to the Secretary, All State Government Employees' Organisations, and circulated to the different Central Trade Union Organisations to come forward to build up this united struggle of the Government employees, for defending the hard-won democratic rights of the employees against the fascist offensive of the Governments both at the Centre and at the State level and suggested for an immediate formation of United Council of Action with all the Government employees' organisations and unions to build up united movement under the leadership of this united Council. His letter in full is printed below :

To :
The Secretary,
All State Govt. Employees'
Organisations, Calcutta.
Dear Friend :

The State Government have come down heavily on the fundamental democratic rights of the employees by invoking the extra-ordinary powers vested in Article 311 (2) of the Indian Constitution in dismissing 13 State Government employees without giving them the natural right to self defence. This summary dismissal of employees along with detention without trial and suspension of some other State Government employees form a chain of

offensives on the part of the Government against the legitimate trade union activities of the Government employees in particular and the working people in general.

In our considered opinion, this sinister move of the Government demands a serious and united resistance of the employees backed by supporting actions of all the Central Trade Unions if the fundamental right to conduct legitimate trade union activities is to be effectively defended.

Judging this paramount necessity of forging a united resistance to this grave attack of the Government, I am sorry to remind you that different organisations of the State Government employees and trade unions are still now divided as to the form and manner of opposition to the Government's action. You will appreciate that the different organisations of the State Govt. Employees now agitating and/or giving expressions of their resentments under different banners and from separate platforms, should be brought immediately on a broad platform of united struggle if we sincerely mean to put up a united resistance to Govt.'s challenge.

From this point of view, I have met all the leaders of the Central Trade Unions including the INTUC. They all agree that to defeat the Government's move, united platform of struggle of all the State Government employees who are opposed to Government's design as also the unity of all the Central Trade Unions on the issue must be achieved. Any unilateral move on the issue will only help the Government in the present context. The Central Trade Union Co-ordination Committee have already accepted this view unanimously.

I am, therefore, addressing this appeal to your organisation for coming forward in our effort of consolidation of all the democratic forces amongst the employees in particular and the working people of the State in general.

As the leaders of the Central Trade Union Co-ordination Committee will be meeting on 26th September '71 to chalk out a programme for higher form of action against the Government's move, I would request you further to kindly send your opinion on our concrete proposal for forming a 'Joint Action Committee' of the State Government employees with all the employees' organisations opposed to Government's move and which are already agitating separately, latest by 25th instant. By doing so you will definitely help us in taking a united programme of action. With greetings,

Fatick Ghosh.

In reply to this letter, Sri Arabinda Ghosh, the Secretary, State Co-ordination Committee, of West Bengal Government Employees, at first in his letter dt. 25.9.71, refused to accept the proposal of formation of United Council of Action with all the Government Employees' organisations for the purpose of conducting the employees' struggle against Government onslaught. But later on, after negotiations with Com. Fatick Ghosh of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani), the State Co-ordination Committee of W.B. Government employees expressed its readiness to form an United Council of Action of Government employees' associations for the success of general strike only. In a statement issued by Sri Arabinda Ghosh, the Secretary, State Co-ordination Committee, it has been stated that :—"We strongly feel that there can be no bar whatsoever in observing General Strike unitedly. But as some quarters feel that formation of a "Joint Council of Action" in respect of the State Government employees is essential for observing the General Strike unitedly, (a distortion—since the various quarters have highlighted the need for formation of United Council of Action not for strike only but for conducting the Government employee's united struggle against the onslaught of the Government—writer) the

Build up mighty struggle through formation of United Council of Action

State Co-ordination Committee makes it clear that there will be no bar in forming "Joint Council of Action" with all whosoever amongst the State Government employees want it, for the task of **making the General Strike and Hartal** a grand success and all concerned are welcome **for the purpose.**"

It is clear from the above statement that an United Council of Action embracing all the employees' organisations to conduct an united struggle as necessary for giving a complete rebuff to the Governments' aggressive attitude and forcing upon the Government to reinstate the dismissed employees was not in view of the leadership of the State Co-ordination Committee. Such a narrow and sectarian attitude on the part of the State Co-ordination Committee was for long acting as a great stumbling block in building up unity of the employees to foil the aggressive designs of the Government.

When it was of utmost importance to forge militant unity among the Government employees and provide united leadership of all Government employees' associations for conducting a joint struggle against the increasing fascistic attack of the Government designed to take away the fundamental democratic and trade union rights of the employees, the leaders of the Co-ordination Committee of the State Government employees instead of moving vigorously and sincerely to this end, rather behaved most callously, dilly-dallied the issue of joint struggle and even took utterly inconsistent positions, which are clearly borne out by the following facts.

On 7th October last, due to the initiative of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) for the formation of United Council of Action of all the Government employees' associations for the purpose of conducting a joint movement, a meeting was held between Com. Fatick Ghose of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani), Sri Manoranjan Ray, (A.I.T.U.C.),

Sri Jatin Chakraborty U. T. U. C. (Bowbazar) and Sri Arabindo Ghose, Secretary, State Co-ordination Committee. In presence of these leaders Sri Arabindo Ghose committed that they were ready to form United Council of Action with all the State Government employees' organisations, to meet the purpose of conducting a joint struggle. But on the very next day at a meeting of the representatives of all the Central Trade Unions, the leaders of the State Co-ordination Committee conveyed their position which was a clear shift from their earlier commitment and expressed their unwillingness to give any assurance in the matter of formation of an United Council of Action. On that very day while the meeting was going on to come to an agreed decision for issuing a joint call for a statewide hartal by all the Central Trade Unions, the 12th July Committee (of which the State Co-ordination Committee is a constituent) and the R. S. S. unilaterally gave a call for observance of general strike and hartal on 13th October throughout West Bengal. Later on, on the same day the two Central Trade Union organisations, the C. I. T. U. and the U. T. U. C. (Bowbazar) gave their support to this call of general strike and hartal at a stage when the talk of United Council of Action was still continuing and the possibility of its formation did not take a mature shape. It is to be noted that neither the C. I. T. U., nor the leadership of the State Co-ordination Committee held out any clear picture as to what form of movement of the Government employees was going to take shape after the general strike and no programme of action was placed before the employees for building up the movement to a higher scale. The Central Trade Unions Co-ordination Committee and particularly the U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) still continued their active effort for carrying out united movement of the Government employees, which

could only be possible through the formation of United Council of Action as contemplated in the letter of Com. Fatick Ghose, as printed above.

In spite of this consistent bid of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) for the formation of United Council of Action of all Government employees' organisations such a sectarian attitude of the leadership of the State Co-ordination Committee, creating hindrance to the formation of such a Council, specially at a time, when united action was necessary against Government's increasing fascistic attack on the fundamental democratic and trade union rights of the employees which was more clearly manifested through the dismissal of Central Government's defence staff had naturally caused deep resentment among the general employees and members of the public. It was in this background and under the pressure of growing urge of the employees to build up united movement through conduction by United Council of Action, the leaders of the State Co-ordination Committee accepted (as evident in their Press Statement on 9.10.71., also communicated to U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani)), though reluctantly, the proposal of United Council of Action of all Government employees' organisations for the purpose of conducting a joint struggle including the general strike and hartal, and to build up a higher and bigger form of movement thereafter.

So in the face of these mounting offensive on the part of the Government against the hard-won democratic rights of the Government employees it is needless to say that the leadership of the State Co-ordination Committee should forsake its narrow sectarian attitude as shown in their earlier stands and actively move forward to bring into reality the United Council of Action of all Government employees' organisations, failing which, not only the struggle of the employees cannot be accelerated to a higher and bigger pitch and the cause of the Govern-

ment employees will not triumph but also such dissension within the Government employees will provide a handle to both the Congress (R)-controlled Government at the Centre and at the State to launch more vicious and fresh attack on the basic democratic rights of the Government employees and their organisations in time to come.

Role of China on Bangla Desh

(Contd. from page 3)

nonetheless failed to grasp this reality or is motivatedly campaigning against China even after knowing the Chinese attitude about the freedom struggle with a view to curb the growing influence of China over the struggle.

I have an appeal to the Government of India in this regard—if they really want to support and give help to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh then it is China, even more than the Soviet Union, which can be the most dependable ally to India. So even if we leave aside the question of India's development and progress it should be considered a most vital task to restore India's old friendship with China in order to support effectively the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh and even to defend that freedom after it is achieved.

Com. Gian Singh Choudhury has returned from Moscow

Comrade Gian Singh Choudhury, Vice-President of U. T. U. C. (Lenin Sarani) who attended International Conference on Social Security held at Moscow in the third week of September last has returned to India a few days back. Comrade Gian Singh Choudhury took part in the deliberations explaining particularly the Indian situation in this context.

No Political Settlement less than full Independence

(Contd. from page 1)

this new policy is in complete conformity with the line of approach consistently pursued by the Soviet Government on Bangladesh issue. Though Sm. Indira Gandhi, in a recent speech at A.I.C.C. (R) session has tried to dispel any misgiving of the Indian people about Indo-Soviet treaty by saying that India was free to exercise her options in pursuing her national interest "without any restraint" and her Government would never give up her "independence of action", still it is found that after the conclusion of Indo-Soviet Treaty the joint communique of Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Swaran Singh, the communique issued during the visit of Sm. Gandhi in Moscow and above all, the statement of Mr. Swaran Singh stated above—all these conclusively show that the India Government has clearly deviated from her earlier professed stand on Bangladesh and is now following closely in line with the Soviet Union on Bangladesh. Such switchover to the Soviet line of approach not only signifies the surrender of India's "independent line of action" and total disregard to the wishes of the Indian people for giving all out assistance to the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and recognition of Bangladesh Government (India Government also repeatedly assured to fulfil these demands), but also strengthens the apprehension of the Indian people that the Indo-Soviet Treaty will put up hindrance in pursuing independent foreign policy necessary to fulfil India's patriotic and national interest and will actually serve the Soviet diplomatic interest alone—an interest which is virtually going against the aspirations of the freedom fighters of Bangladesh.

That in line with the policy of the Soviet Union, the Government of India is taking all pains for a political settlement of Bangladesh issue, even at the cost of independence of

Bangladesh, has further been corroborated by a recent despatch from The Times Correspondent Peter Hazelhurst published in Amrita Bazar Patrika, dated 10.10.71. It states that "India was making vigorous efforts on behalf of the Soviet Union 'to transform' the East Bengal freedom movement into an organisation which will eventually align itself with Moscow". It also states that "the Government has twice put pressure on the Provisional Government in exile to alter the composition of the various Committees of Liberation Front to Moscow's advantage." Instances were related to the formation of "Consultative Committees" of Awami League members with mainly pro-Soviet elements and also to the composition of Bangladesh delegation to the United Nations. If such a closer relation between Bangladesh and the Soviet Union is meant to accelerate the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and lead it to final victory then no one will object to this move of the Soviet Union to build up closer unity with Bangladesh; rather this relationship will be welcomed by every freedom loving person. But the policy of the Soviet Union so long pursued on Bangladesh question runs counter to this desired objective. It is most unfortunate that the Government of India has become instrumental in forming such a link between the Soviet Union and Bangladesh to frustrate the very object of independence of Bangladesh.

So it is found that let alone giving all out assistance to the freedom fighters of Bangladesh in deference to the wishes of the Indian people for a complete success of the struggle, India Government on the other hand is vigorously moving for immediate political solution even in the framework of Pakistan, which negates the very object of independence which the freedom fighters of Bangladesh are striving to achieve. So it is clear that while India Government is not

interested in the freedom struggle to continue any longer and assume mighty shape and is trying to bring it to an immediate end, it is at the same time, on this very issue, trying to create an atmosphere of emergency throughout the country, keeping alert the civil defence measures and making preparations for clamping down partial emergency in the eastern region.

So when the Government of India is showing scant regard to the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and trying to bring a premature end of the struggle and at the same time making ground for assuming emergency powers on the plea of this Bangladesh issue, one may naturally question as to why India Government is making a contradictory move on this question. It can only be explained by the fact that the entire scheme of India Government is directed primarily to utilise the situation for assuming wide draconic powers in order to crush the democratic mass movements launched by the various left and democratic parties and mass organisations with a view to fulfil the narrow political end of the Congress(R), the faithful representative of the ruling capitalist class and the interests of the vested circle. It is a typical instance of the dual policy of Sm. Gandhi and her Congress bringing about fascism in the country. On the one hand it is raising much fuss about its support to Bangladesh freedom struggle only to hoodwink the broad democratic masses of India who are solidly behind the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and on the other, taking advantage of the situation created for Bangladesh issue, it is utilising fully the existing draconic measures to ruthlessly crush the democratic movement within the country. So we call upon the Indian people to build up mighty movement against any attempt of India Government to encroach upon the fundamental democratic rights on any plea, remain vigilant about the contemplated move of India Government to frustrate the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and keep constant pressure on her so that she can not shift from her earlier commitment to render all out assistance to the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and recognise the Sovereign Republic of Bangladesh immediately.

Com. Sachinandan Das has Expired

Being seriously ill Com. Sachinandan Das, an important worker of Murshidabad District Committee of the S. U. C. I. passed away in Azimganj Hospital on 29th September last. Com. Nihar Mukherji, the Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the S. U. C. I. while paying revolutionary homage in memory of Com. Das also expressed deep condolence for the sudden and premature death of Com. Das and conveyed his deep sympathy to the bereaved family of the deceased.

SUC Supporter Killed

Comrade Kiriti Chattaraj, a well-known S.U.C. supporter, of village Ichhapur under Faridpore Police Station area of Burdwan district was brutally killed in his house in the night of 10th October last. The local people apprehend that it is a clear case of political murder. No arrest has yet been made by the police in this connection.

Press Ownership

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support the general external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the worker as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of the productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage workers—the proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head." (Part III Socialism II Theoretical page 384).

In spite of such clear elucidation of the nature of joint stock companies and trusts or the nature of State ownership by the great proletarian leader, Engels, the left parties like the C.P.I. and the C.P.M. hail the transformation of the ownership of newspapers and news agencies into Public Limited Company or the nationalisation of L. I. C., Banks etc. as 'progressive' steps. This is indeed the tragedy of the left movement in our country and with such support to all the social democratic measures of Sm. Gandhi, they are in reality helping fascism to make deep in-roads in our society.